614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 [794] exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 614 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. 582 Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

• 591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 614 764 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] [754] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 114 122 Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*takimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets, four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.
[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.
[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp 231–243.

Though the nuclear family predominates, custom dictates that the house be near members of the same lineage or patrilineal group, perhaps because of the patrilineal system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common. No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the pigs and chickens under control. This group of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

In villages or cabeceras of a compact type it is customary to mark family plots by a fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

Types of Marriage

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

592
614 1. A = a, but A or a.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
• 591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

591 These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the handles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most marriages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age. By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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591
593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'ol*, the last one.

591
593 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
182 factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591
182 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the
434 richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alanmantik		*Ahk'olmantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	13	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

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Family type	Alannantik No. of families	Alannantik Percent of total families	Ak'olnantik No. of families	Ak'olnantik Percent of total families	Total No. of families	Total Percent of total families
Change to uxorilocal from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	1
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

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TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
59 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alamnantik*	*Ak'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	31	34
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iẽ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

[428]

159 592 439 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

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342 592 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group. Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 59 592 When the young couple build their first separate house, this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group. It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 156 571 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a material display of a man's good social relations. Although house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much [177] "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 [527] [782] The building of a house is followed by a "house warming" ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

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592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

121 necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two
• 591 criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. He felt that co-variations in residence choices in time and space were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes applied his ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change. Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.: 1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it with field data from several societies in the world.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956b)-Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new

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•591 frame for the analysis of residence. The articles of Goodenough and Fischer showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.

Fortes (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension" (Fortes 1958: 3) of which he spoke years before (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community, not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology (see Fig. 13), matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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591 Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

Type		Kin Sponsor
I.	Neolocal	Self
II.	Consanguineolocal	Any consanguineal relative
	a. Patrilocal	Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation
	b. Matrilocal	Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation
	c. Avunculocal	Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation
	d. Amitalocal	Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation
	e. Fratilocal	Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation
	f. Sororilocal	Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation
	g. Filiolocal	Son or son's son
	h. Filialocal	Daughter or daughter's daughter
	i. Nepotilocal	Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation
	j. Heterolocal	Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)
III.	Affinolocal	Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)
	a. Virilocal (women only)	Husband
	b. Uxorilocal (men only)	Wife

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)

Fig. 13.--Fischer's Residence Typology

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591 uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of Ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as Murdock and Fortes had recommended in their previous statements. Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors such as, for example, place of birth or the economic role of the individual, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried--as well as for married--people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.[1] Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." These communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of

[1] Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare et al. (1957), Mills (1954).

121 internal status differentiation.[1] Residential groups, conse-
.591 quently, are "small groups"; moreover, they are reference groups of the membership type (Merton, 1949). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences in type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residentially spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations, attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong.

Fischer proposed then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer, 1958:512).

Raulet (1959) has made on valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

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[1]For the definition of "small groups" see Strodbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está bajo su poder (is under the father's power).

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] [591] [606] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
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591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
241
417

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pat-
59 tern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of
183 census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the
121 normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

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128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

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Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patrivirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-viriloçal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. 114 591 593 The problem of applying the concept

114 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor
591 is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango
593 patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 The results of this analysis indicate a statistically sig-
591 nificant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias
[428] towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84		3	14	38	
Adjacent block	5	28		100	5	24		76
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

183
591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of con-
621 fidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is
592 divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically re-
602 lated men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a
[582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying,
[606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

591 606 land with his father-in-law, and, at the time that the couple is ready to live separately, his father-in-law will provide a house for his and his wife.

TABLE 9

621 591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

	Living In	Man				Woman			
		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent	
I	Same or adjacent compound	40	69	95	100	15	42	64	86
II	Same block	10	17			3	8		
III	Adjacent block	5	9			5	14		
IV	Same town division	3	5	5		8	22	22	
V	Different division	. .	. .	. .		3	8	14	
VI	Other town	. .	. .			2	6		
	Total Sample	58	100			36	100	100	

	+	-
Men	55	3
Women	23	13

$x^2 = 12.6, > 10.827$ significance level at 0.001

I to III = Patrilocal Proximity
I to IV = Barrio Endogamy
I to V = Town Endogamy
VI = Town Exogamy

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a verno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nuerag" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

59 606 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it. If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
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606 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her husband's household does not. The change of residence at the time
• 591 757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

The fission of the compound household into nuclear households is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

A father tries to keep his son living with him for as long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 592 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter 464 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land, 562 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, 423 nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 593 182 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint effort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 425 592 621 [593] A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is extremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads), but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village. This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 593 423 425 578 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between the jural rights of the household head and the administrative rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

592 593 578 606 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955), and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

591 593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the
593 father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead). Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

591 Residence Patterns for Ex-married People
605

The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

591 605 man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

591 736 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a]E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

•591 736 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 592 423 426 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed home is a young couple that married without their parents' approval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, very unstable. [583] Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 156 167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

591 603 183

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 592 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making [428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike [184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" [693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that [592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a [582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

591 592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same sitio	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound sitio with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

591 593 361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indi-
593 cates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the
361 difference needs to be explained.

174 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had,
591 in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do

591 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although
428 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows
423 that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matri-lineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viri-patrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 16

•591 361 AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO THE PARENTAL HOME, ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in	Man			Woman		
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
I Same house	49	33	64	39	23	49
II Same Compound	10	7		15	9	
III Next door	15	10		17	10	
IV Same block	21	14		10	7	
V Same town division	35	24	24	60	35	35
VI Other division	9	11	11	10	16	16
VII Outlying barrios	4			12		
VIII Other town	6			5		
Total	149			178		

	+	-
Men	94.5	54.5
Women	81.5	86.5

$x^2 = 7.11 > 6.635$ Significance level at 0.01

I to IV: Patrilocal Proximity
I to V : Barrio Endogamy
I to VI: Village Endogamy
VII to VIII: Village Exogamy

TABLE 15

423
428

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN
PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

Proximity	Live in:	Men		Women	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Same Neighborhood	Same house	3	40	7	67
	Next door	2		6	
	Same block	1		1	
	Santa Cruz	5		4	
Different Neighborhood	Same barrio	13	60	7	33
	Other barrio	3		1	
	Other town	1		2	
Total		28	100	28	100

Women

	+	-
Village	81.5	86.5
Santa Cruz	17.5	10.5

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

Men

	+	-
Village	94.5	54.5
Santa Cruz	11.5	16.5

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

184 Residence of Widows

589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

583 <u>The Marriage Transactions and the Household</u>
584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the esteblished bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keeping her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

591 583

582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

606 184 [593] a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 184 591 606 578 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
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434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the

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594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
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482 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
592 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
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434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
[428 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
421] marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
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434 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323 holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434
591 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
593 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
428 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
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602 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
606 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
75 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her own kin rather than her husband's.

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184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 [606] (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 598 591 [613] In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

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562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the
59 nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter
592 being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic
562 group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time,
[428] from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units
182 of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the
591 rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.
592

184 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred
591 over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of
562 the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred
591 over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women,
562 while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as mar-
602 ried women do, under certain conditions.

184 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is pre-
59 ferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain eco-
602 nomic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

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184 691 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

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184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

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602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
571 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

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591 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
592 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and
621 organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

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000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 • 59 571 602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

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residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same